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A PLANNED LEAK, OR A LEAKY PLAN?

The Gaither Report and the doctrine of preventive war

By Kumar Goshal

WASHINGTON'S complacent belief in the everlasting superiority of all things American seemed last week to have been shattered by two things:

- The much-talked-about but still secret Gaither Committee Report to the Natl. Security Council.
- The realization that the Soviet Union's dogged efforts to catch up with and surpass the U.S. in scientific, industrial and plain bread-and-butter terms are bearing fruit.

These two factors are causing a reappraisal that is truly hair-curling.

President Eisenhower set up the Gaither committee last May to look into U.S. defense problems, especially the problem of building shelters for protection against both the blast and radiation from atom bombs. The 11 members and 11 advisers of the committee were assisted by five specialists (see box, p. 8). It was dominated by industrialists and former Pentagon brass now in cushy corporation jobs.

THE GREEN LIGHT: The committee was named for its first chairman, H. Rowan Gaither Jr., a lawyer and former head of the Ford Foundation. William C. Foster, former Economic Cooperation Administrator, of the Olin-Mathieson Chemical Corp., and Robert C. Sprague of the Sprague Electric Co. took over as co-chairmen when Gaither became ill.

The committee noted the flood of reports about the unprecedented pace of Soviet progress in science, technology and industrial productivity. It also accepted without question that Moscow was "the enemy." It therefore asked for and obtained the President's permission to broaden its scope of inquiry.

Given top priority by the President the committee demanded and obtained the most secret information from all sources: the Defense Dept., Atomic Energy Commission, Natl. Science Foundation and the sacrosanct Central Intelligence Agency.

THE LEAKS BEGIN: Its final report was presented to an extraordinary session of the Security Council last Nov. 7 —four days after Sputnik II began its spin. Several committee members were reported to have urged that it be made public "to alert the people." But the President overruled them, stamped it "top secret."

Soon, however, ominous bits and pieces began to leak. The Washington **Post** on Dec. 20 and the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** on Dec. 22 published what they called resumés of the report. Gaither and his colleagues kept mum.

Putting the pieces together, it would seem that the Gaither Committee made a wide-ranging, comparative survey of certain aspects of U.S. and Soviet military, scientific, technological and economic policies. The following is what they reportedly found.

New York Herald Tribune, 12/23/57

Military

- Moscow's presumably large subma-

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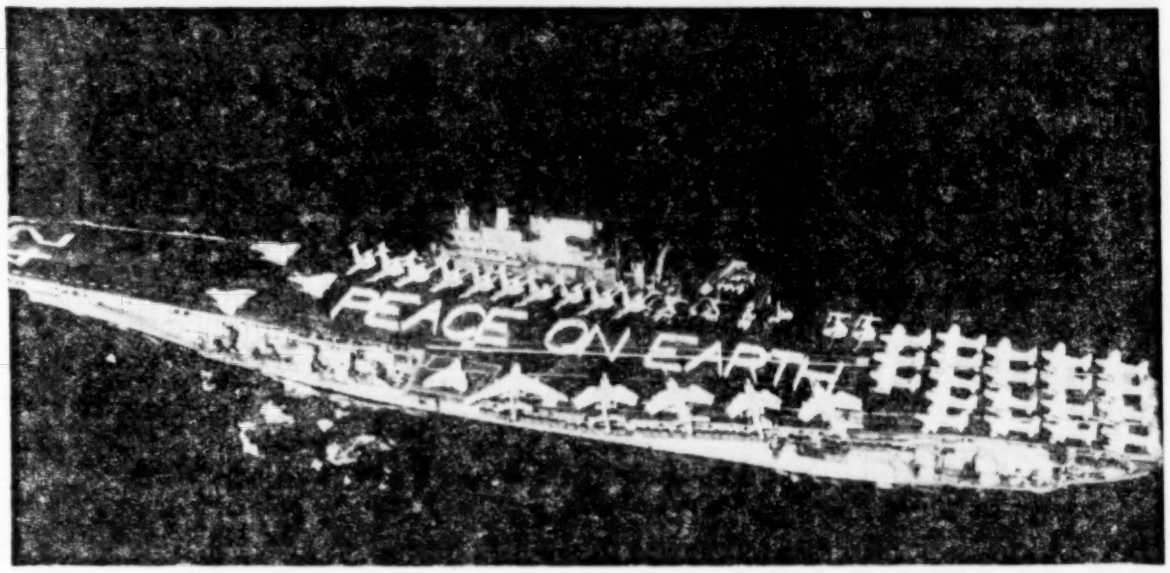

You spelled it, boys, but can they read plain English in Washington?

The men of the carrier USS Franklin D. Roosevelt, the world's largest warship, on duty in the Mediterranean, present the sentiments of humanity in this season of peace. But even as they do, others (see left) are spelling d-i-s-a-s-t-e-r. Suggested first step to put the sailors' sentiment into practice: bring the Franklin D. Roosevelt home.

BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS

All Israel in an uproar over German arms mission

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV

THE LATENT CRISIS in Israel's coalition government, which has long been smouldering, burst into the open on Dec. 17 when **Lamerhav**, organ of Ahdut Ha'avoda, one of the socialist partners in the government coalition, published the secret proceedings of a Cabinet meeting held two days before. The discussion had centered on a projected mission to Bonn by what the press referred to as "two high-ranking officials." The mission was opposed by all the coalition partners—the two Socialist parties, Mapam and Ahdut Ha'avoda, the liberal Progressives and the religious labor party, Hapoel Hamizrahi.

Only members of Prime Minister Ben Gurion's own party, Mapai, voted in favor of this mission; but even within his own ranks, two ministers had abstained. The vote was seven in favor, six against and two abstentions—thus in theory still permitting the Prime Minister to go ahead with the proposed mission. The fear that he might do so, despite sharp disagreement within the cabinet and violent opposition by large sections of the public, led to what has been termed the "unprecedented and unauthorized" publication of Cabinet proceedings. Mapai accused its coalition partner of "sabotaging the security of the state."

[On Dec. 31 Ben Gurion resigned but was immediately asked to form a new government.]

AN ARMS DEAL: It is an open secret here that the "two high-ranking officials" slated to go to Bonn were Chief of Staff Moshe Dayan, and Shimeon Peres, director-general of the Ministry

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HOW TO IMPROVE OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Campaign urged to reinstate fired teachers in New York

By Louis E. Burnham

EVER SINCE SPUTNIK I started orbiting around the earth the press has been deluged with suggestions for taking up the slack in American education. Schoolmen, editorial writers and politicians have demanded "crash programs," "education in depth," and "a complete reorganization of American education."

As yet, proposals have far outdistanced performance and concrete steps radically to improve the school system remain, with the sputniks, up in the air. On one point, however, everybody seems agreed: the nation needs more and better teachers, especially in the sciences.

Against this background, newspaperman I. F. Stone last month made a proposal which might well become a starter in restoring the nation's educational balance. Stone's **Weekly** (12/16/57) suggested that a committee of public-spirited citizens be formed in New York to review the cases of some 258 teachers who have been fired in the last four years on loyalty-security grounds.

THE FEINBERG LAW: Since 1951 the N. Y. Board of Education has conducted a witch-hunt in the public schools with what the **Weekly** describes as "vindictive zeal." Its procedure has been ingenious and thus far foolproof. First, the intended victim is hailed before an investigating committee and confronted with charges relating to alleged political beliefs and associations. This action is taken under authority of the Feinberg law which prohibits employment of Communists and others judged to be subversive in the state's public schools and colleges.

Charges against teachers usually consist of hearsay and the testimony of discredited informers. The Board recognizes the difficulty of securing court sanction for action taken on the basis of such "evidence." Teachers who resist the intrusion on their constitutional rights, therefore are fired, not under the provisions of the Feinberg law, but for "insubordination."

Compounding its felony, the Board requires those who admit past associations with Communists to inform on fellow teachers in order to retain their jobs. In July, 1955, Lewis A. Wilson, then State Commissioner of Education, ruled that teachers need not be informers to prove their loyalty. The Board appealed to the State Supreme Court, was slapped down, and is appealing again.

BEST ONES PURGED: A spokesman for the N. Y. Teachers Union told the GUARDIAN last week that, while the people all over the country are expressing their increasing revulsion against witch hunting, "the N. Y. Board of Education continues as though McCarthyism were the prevailing mood of the day."

Stone points out that "some of New York's best and most needed teachers

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THE MAIL BAG

Our national character

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We suffer the delusion of believing that we can out-build, out-think, out-invent the Russians. On the other hand we confess our shortcomings by trying to make a scientific "gang up" against the Russians by organizing the brains of the Western Allies to catch up with the scientists of the U.S.S.R. It seems to me, though, that the majority of thinking people must see through our pretensions, inconsistencies, self - deception, holier-than-thou attitude and national conceit. Underlying our whole attitude is belief in our own virtuous intentions, intellectual superiority and honesty. No one portrays our national character in relation to the Russians better than the "greatest Secretary of State" of all time, John Foster Dulles (to quote our President).

John W. Bingham

One-way armistice

CHENEY, WASH.

Dulles insists on a set of armistice rules guaranteeing a Western victory. This is clearly a heads-I-win-tails-you - lose proposal. Dulles doubtless knows that the Soviet leaders, whatever else he may think them to be, are not idiots. He therefore knows that there isn't the slightest danger that his proposal will be accepted. The cold war, then, is in no danger whatever of coming to an end so long as Dulles sticks to his guns—or do I mean H-bombs?

Name withheld

Still fooling the profs?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Since the advent of Sputnik, the U.S. press has been contrasting Soviet and U.S. educational systems and methods. A product of the latter is the present Secretary of State. His biographer relates how John F. Dulles had a knack for exams, read his books the night before, memorized important decisions and citations, sprinkled his answers with legally erudite references, greatly impressed his professors and made the highest marks ever given at Princeton University (John R. Beal: **John Foster Dulles**, 1957, p. 53).

Is that why Secretary Dulles did "not even read it," yet belittled Bulganin's 15-page letter to Eisenhower? Does the Secretary imagine he's still in school fooling the professors?

Albert Bofman

Poetic justice

SALEM, ORE.

Has anyone noticed how well Providence is applying poetic justice these days?

Here are three men who dedicated themselves to resist the forces of human progress some 40 years ago and who have been allowed by fate to live long past the average age to see everything they tried to do ending in ignominious failure.

The three are Winston Churchill, Herbert Hoover and John Foster Dulles.

Personally I never envied them their pomp and circumstance and I certainly won't pity them in their misery.

Theodore E. Stuver

P.S. I'm the guy who some eight years ago ragged you about your "last ditch" appeal. I pointed out that you were only in the first ditch, remember? Now I think you are in the last ditch. I think you are now on the way up the mountain of final, glorious success.

Mental tests for brass

HAVERHILL, MASS.

It is a fearful thing for the decision to be left to any one of the field commanders to start dropping bombs which would mean millions killed and probably general annihilation. I think there is horrible danger of mistakes being made and I believe they all should be thoroughly examined for sanity very often if there is to be the possibility of any one of them being faced with the necessity of making such a decision.

Viola M. Campbell

Socialization

WOODLAND, CALIF.

I have been a supporter of the socialist movement in this country for over 50 years. It makes me wonder if these theoretical socialists really want socialism in this country; what would be left for them to talk about? What is the answer? Obviously, if we are to get mass support, we must have something that anyone can see the benefits of, and understand exactly how it works. There are such instances here now. We need to acknowledge that much of the so-called American way of life is socialized: schools, highways, police protection, weather information, post office and in some places, electric power. Not perfectly of course, but it is our job to perfect it where we may have the power. The first important socialization in the world was the formation of this nation. We put an end theoretically and also quite substantially to the private ownership of the political power of the nation. That is political democracy. Not working well today as it has got into the hands of the few with money. It is apparent that political action through the ballot is not feasible except possibly in small contests. What is feasible and a hundred times more productive than ballot action is the adding even in a small way to our present store of socialization. The success of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District has had more effect in softening up the farmer and the public to acceptance of a degree of socialism than all the propaganda of U.S. Reds in the last 50 years. Here in adjacent Yolo County I am paying just about twice as much for power as they do in Sacramento.

Willard F. Smith

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Technically, the economy will 'recede' or move sideways. But if the recession is defined even in the mild terms of the 1953-54 slump, it will still be a gold-plated recession.

Time magazine, 12/30

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. Solomon, Los Angeles, Calif.

Wall Street Journal

"You don't have to agree with me just because your job is at stake."

Four Lights

BOULDER, COLO.

As a member of the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) I receive the publication **Four Lights — Pax** with the quotation on the masthead: "Then he showed four lights when he wished them to set full sail and follow in his wake.—Magellan." The November issue reports that the WILPF has sent citations "to the nine Negro students of Central High School, Little Rock, Ark., and to others engaged elsewhere in similar efforts to wipe the stain of segregation from this democratic country."

Four Lights comments: "It is to be hoped that by the time this article appears, law and order will have been restored. But 'law and order' is a chilling, legalistic concept that does not include hatred that smolders beneath the surface, threats, insults, fears, or what was recently explained to the Minister from Ghana as 'area customs.' . . .

"When it is a case of man's inhumanity to child, there is no such thing as an innocent bystander."

L. M. P.

Rationale

SEATTLE, WASH.

If reason bold can launch a star,
And set it to revolving,
Then "simple faith" could only mar,
What man is now resolving.

C.W.G.

More Mailbag on p. 12

REPORT TO READERS

Geneva in '58!

IF GOOD KING WENCESLAS looked out this Christmas, he might have thought it time for him to take a long sputnik ride and set up shop on the moon. In Britain, Yuletide revelry was drowned out by the roar of U.S. bombers wandering overhead with H-bombs ready to be fused and dropped at the touch of a button. In Paris, as seasonal bells strove to make themselves heard, U.S. policy-makers argued like Old Scrooge with the old men of NATO to bring all of us into their suicidal lunatic asylum.

It is a terrifying spectacle when one considers that the survival of mankind already hangs by a button. There is no possible guarantee against "human error" in those entrusted with the buttons, and if one of them gets pushed, most of us have had it.

NOR IS THERE ANYTHING that any of us can do about it, except make peace and study war no more. The prize for this simple act of sanity is a future of dazzling brightness for ourselves and our children. After all the centuries of cruel frustration for the mass of mankind, it is to our generation that the gift of the life abundant is being offered by our ancestors who fought and suffered for us to have it.

This we shall have if we survive—and, barring that "human error," the chances of survival are brightening. For the fact is that "free world" leaders cannot invent any "new philosophy" which will be swallowed by anyone less lunatic than themselves. And we may take it as another fact that most of the world's inhabitants are not insane.

Yet realism demands that we understand what it is that drives our "leaders" to this lunacy. While war would mean their own and their system's annihilation, they doubt capitalism's capacity to survive peace. They fear another depression and have caught on to the "sputnik crisis" as a hope of averting it by still more astronomic war spending. More billions for rockets, and once again the "position of strength" — that is the philosophy; but the "policy of strength" already lies in ruins.

It doesn't add up. Dulles is an ingenious man but he can't make it add up. NATO can no longer stand such strains. There is nothing to do but to get around the table and resume the tension-relaxing talks where they left off in Geneva in '55. If capitalism must continue—and presumably it must in the leading Western countries—it has to find another way to avoid depressions. There are other things on which to spend billions than destruction.

—Cedric Belfrage

ENCLOSURES: With Cedric Belfrage's message came the front pages of two of England's biggest newspapers for Dec. 23. The conservative **Daily Express** gave a four line banner headline to an exclusive interview by its editor with Nikita Khrushchev, who said:

"I am an optimist. I have always been an optimist. Today I am more optimistic than ever. All the signs point to the fact that the prospect for peace is brightening." Khrushchev urged negotiations with these basic aims:

- Liquidating the Cold War.
- Lifting from the shoulders of the people the burden of the armaments race.
- Creating normal living conditions for the people.
- Improving relations between governments.

The London **Daily Mirror** (Labour) ran a front-page editorial headed in huge type: "CHRISTMAS PRESENT the whole world is waiting for—TOP-LEVEL TALKS." The text quoted the "Tory" **Sunday Express** as saying "there is an overwhelming, irresistible desire in this country for top-level talks with Russia." Agreeing, the **Mirror** asked, "Why are Prime Minister Macmillan and Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd so dangerously out of touch with public opinion?"

A LIKE QUESTION might be asked by us of Eisenhower and Dulles and also Adlai Stevenson, who goes along with them. We urge on you a New Year's resolution to keep bombarding your Senators and Congressmen with the demand for top-level talks NOW. Nothing less will do in the Age of Sputniks.

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. After sending his seasonal message above, Editor-in-Exile Cedric Belfrage took off for Cairo to attend the Asian-African People's Solidarity Conference. We'll be hearing from him.

'A REDRESS OF GRIEVANCE'

Battle shaping in Congress to abolish Un-Americans

By Lawrence Emery

ONE OF THE FIRST battles in the new session of Congress beginning Jan. 7 will be an effort to end the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate subcommittee on Internal Security. The Abolition Campaign to terminate this year the witch-hunt that has been going on since 1938 was begun by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at a rally in New York last September. Since then the ECLC has conducted two coast-to-coast speaking tours and has published a 16-page pamphlet, **For Abolition of the Inquisitorial Committee of Congress**, by ECLC chairman Harvey O'Connor.

Latest supporter of the abolition campaign is Alexander Meiklejohn of Berkeley, Calif., great educator and defender of civil liberties. He has asked Speaker Sam Rayburn to present to the House his "petition for redress of grievance" urging the Representatives "either (1) to decide against continuing the Mandate of the Committee on Un-American Activities or (2) to so modify that Mandate as to deny the Committee any authority to 'compel testimony' concerning the 'beliefs, expressions or associations' of its witnesses."

BITTER REPENTANCE: Dr. Meiklejohn bases his petition upon the recent Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case, a portion of which he quotes: "We have no doubt that there is no Congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure. The public is, of course, entitled to be informed concerning the workings of its government. That cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be invasion of the private rights of individuals."

Dr. Meiklejohn recalls "several earlier periods when, stirred by the anxieties of war, or the after-effects of war, we have engaged in acts of unconstitutional repression which, when sober judgment returned, we have bitterly repented." He declares: "The time has come when, once more, by decisive action, we must give clear assurance to ourselves, as well as to the people of other nations, that we have not lost faith in the effectiveness and wisdom of the principles upon which our Constitution is established."

CLERKS IN THE FILES: The House Committee responded to the Abolition campaign by denouncing it as un-American and published a 19-page pamphlet "exposing" its supporters. Harvey O'Connor writes in his new pamphlet: "The committee declined to answer; instead its clerks were sent into the files containing the names of more than a million citizens to offer in evidence the past activities of the proponents of Abolition. And what were these activities? For the most part, the championing of civil liberty!"

Rep. Donald L. Jackson (D.-Calif.), a member of the committee, is now making a similar attack against the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, which is active in his home region of Southern California. The committee, headed by Rev. A. A. Heist, recently urged members of Congress to conduct a public hearing on the matter of a new appropriation for the House Committee.

A "SUGGESTION": Rep. Jackson released to the press a letter he sent Rep. Omar Burleson (D.-Tex.), chairman of the Committee on House Administration which would conduct the hearing requested by Rev. Heist. He wrote:

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
The right to petition

"I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that before any hearing is granted the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, the group be required to make available to your committee a list of its officers and members. Following receipt of this list, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate subcommittee on Internal Security can furnish you with complete dossiers which will bear out my contention that the so-called Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms is in fact an organization completely dominated and directed by men and women whose records indicate that they have conscientiously and consistently served the cause of the international communist conspiracy."

The Citizens Committee replied in a statement: "When a public official tries to intimidate citizens who have properly petitioned Congress for a public hearing on the expenditure of public money, by threatening them with 'dossiers,' he shows no respect for the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. . . . Why is he so upset over a public hearing? What is Congressman Jackson trying to hide?"

THE PAMPHLET: Copies of the O'Connor pamphlet (5 cents, available in any quantity) and other material in the Abolition campaign can be had from the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Av., New York 1, N.Y.

HIGH COURT HEARING

Army's 'risks' gain in fight to drop label

AT LONG LAST an unknown number of Cold War casualties—men separated from the Army with less-than-honorable discharges because of pre-Army associations—may be restored to an honorable status in society. The Supreme Court this month will hear arguments in the cases of Howard D. Abramowitz of Brooklyn and John Henry Harmon 3rd of the Bronx. Both now possess undesirable discharges even though the ratings in their service records are nothing less than "excellent" and Abramowitz won a Silver Star in Korea.

Their treatment, which cut them off from veterans' benefits and services, jeopardized their employment opportunities and stigmatized them in their communities, constituted one of the worst of the abuses of the time of the witch-hunt. The total number of such victims has never been ascertained and is known only to the Army.

CASE HISTORIES: Abramowitz, who is represented before the Supreme Court by Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard B. Boudin with the support of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, served honorably from 1951 to 1953. He was honorably separated from the service and automatically went into the Enlisted Reserve. Two years later the Army tagged him a "security risk," charged him with membership in the Communist Party in 1948-9, and dropped him from the reserve with an undesirable discharge.

Harmon, who is represented by N. Y. attorney David I. Shapiro, was inducted in 1952 and six months later was questioned about his pre-induction associations. He refused to answer some questions on the ground of the Fifth Amendment. Later the Army charged him specifically with working for the Urban League in Detroit and with registering as an American Labor Party voter in New York. He admitted these activities but claimed a constitutional right to engage in them. He was given an undesirable discharge in 1954.

ARMY'S OWN REVIEW: Defense attorneys argue that the Army is required by law to base its discharges on the quality of service rendered and that a less-than-honorable discharge for honorably performed duty is an unconstitutional "badge of infamy." The government contends that the courts do not have the power to review Army discharges, and that a less-than-honorable discharge does no legal injury to the man receiving it.

Late in 1955 the Army devised its "security risk" program to bar suspected persons from being inducted, but no provision was made for past cases. Late last month it was reported that the Army has voluntarily and quietly been reviewing all cases of men discharged as "risks" between 1948 and 1955 and that in nearly half the cases changes have been made. In some cases the type of discharge is upgraded, in others the "security" label is removed entirely. The report said that by the end of December some 650 cases had been reviewed, with changes in 280 of them.

A favorable Supreme Court decision could change those figures drastically for the better.

NEW LAMONT PAMPHLET ON 'RIGHT TO TRAVEL'

No Kent passport; China visitors fight for theirs

ROCKWELL KENT, noted artist, was again denied a passport on Dec. 23 because of his refusal to answer State Dept. questions concerning his political beliefs or associations. Kent had been invited to Moscow for the celebration on Dec. 27 of the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Russian Academy of Fine Arts. A one-month exhibition of 55 paintings and 120 drawings and lithographs by Kent is currently drawing thousands to the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.

Kent, together with Dr. Corliss Lamont, educator and writer, and Dr. Walter Briehl, Los Angeles psychiatrist, is challenging the State Dept.'s power to deny passports for political reasons in a case now pending before the Supreme Court.

In the latest action, Kent was offered a passport if he would answer State Dept. questions about past or present Communist Party membership. He said at his home in Ausable Forks, N.Y.: "I will under no circumstances answer those questions. The settlement of this whole passport issue that is presently going before the Supreme Court is much more important than my going to the Soviet Union at this moment. Of course, if I answered the questions I would get my passport anyhow, but I wouldn't settle the constitutional matter that involves the freeing of all Americans to travel."

NEW CHINA HANDS: In another move, the State Dept. has announced cancellation of the passports of 24 of 42 Americans who toured China last summer against State Dept. wishes. Of 18 who have already returned to this country, the government picked up the passports of all but two, who refused to surrender them. The two, Robert Cohen and Sam E. Hochman of New York, are being represented by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and its attorney, Leonard B. Boudin. Four others who are demanding return of their passports are represented by New York civil liberties attorney Stanley Faulkner.

ROCKWELL KENT
He won't talk

RIGHT TO TRAVEL: Dr. Lamont, vice-chairman of ECLC, has just published a 42-page pamphlet, **The Right to Travel.** In it he argues that denial of passports for political reasons is a violation of the Bill of Rights that "will eventually endanger the rights of all." He points out that the policy violates the UN Declaration of Human Rights, signed by the U.S. in 1948, which affirms everyone's right to travel. He writes:

"People must be free to travel for the sake of pure pleasure and recreation, for simple sightseeing, for romance or for any other purpose that strikes their fancy. The right to travel, as part of the general right of movement, is inherent to the free man's way of life." The pamphlet traces the long fight that has been waged against State Dept. policy denying the right to travel.

The booklet can be ordered from Basic Pamphlets, Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N.Y. Single copies are 10c; bulk prices are: 7 copies, 50c; 15 copies, $1; 50 copies or more, 40% discount.

But what about us?

LONDON — (AP) — A woman stopped on the street Monday night by a roving reporter for the British Broadcasting Corp. was asked, "Who is repreesnting Britain at the NATO conference in Paris?"

"President Eisenhower," she replied.

Chicago **Daily News**, 12/1[illegible]

PREJUDICE AGAINST THE POOR WHITE?

'Hill-billy, plowboy, wool-hat and cracker'

In the Nov. 4, 1957 issue, the GUARDIAN reprinted a satirical piece from the Charleston Gazette about a mythical character called Bollweevil J. Whitetrash and his role in the Little Rock riots. Last week came a letter from Don West, Southern poet, teacher, organizer and farmer, objecting to the article. "It occurred to me," he said, "that you might like to print my article on the background and plight of the poor white Southerner. It just happens to be one of my life-long interests and I am working now on a book dealing with the anti-slavery sentiment in the South prior to and during the Civil War. It is tragic that history has been so much misrepresented on this issue." The GUARDIAN is glad to print excerpts from the West article, which appeared in the December, 1957, issue of the Southern Newsletter *($3 a year, P.O. Box 1307, Louisville, Ky.).*

By Don West—

SOMETIMES well-meaning people have a tendency to lump all the white South together as a hopelessly prejudiced and bad lump. These people have a set of unfortunate stock words used to create a stereotype by which a whole group is judged. Thus they create a definition of "cracker" and condemn a whole group. I think now of at least four recent examples.

One is an article by Hodding Carter in P. D. East's **Petal Paper**, Petal, Miss. Mr. Carter refers to Talmadge's "crackers." The implication is, of course, that we must lay responsibility for the Talmadges of the South to the "cracker" door.

Another is in a recent Paul Robeson interview in **Ebony** magazine. He uses the same "cracker" term, and the implication is that these "crackers" are the ones responsible for the plight of his people.

And my old and very courageous friend, L. E. Austin, editor of the **Carolina Times**, Durham, N.C., makes use of "hill-billy" and "cracker" phrases right along. Others use "wool-hat," "red-necks," "pecker-wood," "country-hicks," etc.

Some may say this is not important. But I think it is important to be as clear as possible in our use of words. Let us look at these implications.

THE BITTER FRUITS of prejudice—segregation, lynchings, the recent castrating of a Negro man by an inhuman gang—grow out of a background of slavery of the Negro people. Who owned the slaves? And who sought to perpetuate and extend slavery? It was not the "crackers." Slaves were owned by the Southern aristocrats. They lived in the nice big white houses and they had education and "culture," because they had time and wealtn. Slaves did their work.

Southern News Letter

But the "cracker"—that is a word used particularly in Georgia to denote the poor and common white folks: Tom Watson once gave an excellent definition. "The cracker," he said, "is simply the Southern white who did his own work like a man, and did not depend upon slaves to do it." The "cracker," then, was the non-slave-holding white. Today he is just the common ordinary Southern white working man or farmer.

And what about that "plow-boy" Governor Faubus? Why is it necessary to defame and dishonor an honorable occupation and group by connecting a Faubus onto it? By such careless usage we might be led to believe it is the plowboys who follow the furrow from dawn till dusk who are responsible for Little Rock!

The "hill-billies" are the Southern mountaineers who live in or come from the Southern Appalachians. Historically the mountaineers were opposed to slavery on principle. In the Civil War the Southern mountains were an area almost unitedly pro-Union in sympathy and action.

Why, for goodness sakes, should all the evils growing out of a slavery background be thrown at the very people who fought and opposed slavery? The truth, of course, is that not the "wool hats" but the Silk Hats are the ones to be eyed with suspicion.

MORE RECENTLY comes the NATIONAL GUARDIAN with an article about "Bollweevil J. Whitetrash." Here again the old Bourbon lie that the poor whites — the "whitetrash" — is mainly responsible for conditions of the Negro is repeated. The poor Southern white, victimized by both the bollweevil and the planter aristocrats, is pictured as the "final breastwork" against decency at Little Rock.

What a false and misleading representation! Writers of such articles, regardless of their good intentions, cannot but serve the purpose and desires of the Bourbons and their Northern allies. They deny the poor white opportunities for education and understanding; they fill his mind with poisoned racist propaganda. Then they stand back and make him the goat!

Personally I am of these—hill-billy, cracker, plowboy—I come from the mountaineer-cracker people and I have always definitely and deliberately identified myself with and of them. Yes, and my own neck is red now from following the plow around the furrows of the fields of this Georgia farm.

Such stereotypes are splitting words. Hate and spite and force are suggested by their usage. They tend to turn the plowboys and crackers and hill-billies toward the Faubus camp. And God knows in this crusade we need every possible friend and ally.

Certainly, no one would deny that the poor white Southerner is sometimes found under the bed sheets of the Ku Klux Klan. They are in the White Councils also. But they are not the primary source. Those who own the wealth and the means, and use them, to shape and twist the minds and spirits of the many, are the responsible ones. Josè Marti, the great Cuban independence leader, expressed it well:

"The monster who troubles the waters, and not the miserable thirsty ones who drink from them, are to be held accountable for the dangerous backwash of those waters."

Teacher campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

are among those purged." He adds: "A public investigating committee will find, we believe, not a single instance where incompetent teaching, misuse of the classroom for indocrination or any other violation of professional conduct was alleged, much less proven."

This contention is supported by Col. Arthur Levitt, who served as a one-man loyalty committee trial examiner for the Board and reported on Dec. 2, 1952:

"The respondents adduced the testimony of a long succession of colleagues, supervisors, parents and former pupils, demonstrating their superior talents as teachers. It was demonstrated that these are teachers of long service and with records of conspicuously fine accomplishment, frequently under adverse circumstances."

JOBS GO BEGGING: Among the dismissed teachers are 75 who taught mathematics and physics in junior and senior high schools. Yet last Nov. 13 Asst. Supt. C. Frederick Pertsch, in charge of the high school division, complained: "We simply cannot fill these 90 positions [referring to mathematics vacancies] because we cannot find the teachers." The N. Y. **Teacher News** compared Pertsch to the man who killed both his parents and threw himself on the mercy of the court because he was an orphan.

The importance of the 75 math and science teachers looms even larger in light of the national teacher shortage. Benjamin Fine, education editor of the N.Y. **Times**, points out that in 1957 teacher training institutions produced only about 125 new physics teachers for 125,000 high schools in the nation. The result? "Half-trained or untrained men and women will be drafted into high school science teaching positions. Lacking imagination, they may well drive thousands of potentially competent young scientists away from this most important field of learning."

Another 75 of the dismissed teachers taught in what the Board describes as "difficult" schools. These are schools with predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican attendance, functioning in lower-income communities and with grossly inadequate facilities. An additional 175 victims of the Board's political inquisition were elementary school teachers "highly competent in arithmetic and science."

HIGHER LEVEL HUNT: The N. Y. Board of Higher Education has been equally zealous in hunting down teachers in the New York City's four public colleges (City, Hunter, Brooklyn and Queens). Since this Board began its investigations in 1953, four college faculty members have been discharged after departmental trials; 22 other employes resigned or retired after the investigation; 14 others were dismissed under the now-discredited (inform or be fired) Section 903 of the City Charter.

RULINGS PROTECT TEACHERS' RIGHTS: BOARDS MAY NOT ASK TEACHERS TO INFORM ON OTHERS... ABSENCE REFUNDS FOR SUBS ORDERED.....
NEVER MIND THE RULINGS! WE APPEAL! NAME NAMES....OR ELSE! WE WON'T PAY THE REFUNDS TO SUBS.... WE APPEAL AGAIN...! WE APPEAL!!!
NO! APPEAL AGA

Teacher News, New York

On Dec. 16 the Board dismissed Dr. Warren B. Austin, asst. prof. of English at City College. Under suspension since last May 21, Austin had taught at City College for 27 years. Forty members of the college English Dept. adopted a resolution stating Austin was "a man who has displayed to the best of our knowledge the highest integrity in all his dealings with us and with his students, and who has never given us cause to question his loyalty to the Government of the United States."

Impressive support for Austin also came from student publications and organizations. Nevertheless, the Board voted unanimously for dismissal. Ephraim S. London, Austin's counsel, said the action was based on "the unreliable testimony of an admitted perjurer [he referred to Dr. Lewis Balamuth, former City College faculty member and now vice-pres. and manager of an electronics manufacturing co.], upon conjecture and upon rags and tatters of evidence of no substance or significance." He promised to "take the case as high as necessary in order to get a just determination." First step would be an appeal to Dr. James E. Allen, State Education Commisioner.

AN ENORMOUS TASK: Last Nov. 10 Allen, at a meeting of the N.Y. State Committee for Public Schools, discussed the grave educational problem with which New York State is grappling. He said: "Our present task is enormous, the immediate future will magnify its proportions, and 25 or 50 years hence it will be gigantic in size." To ease the shortage of fully qualified teachers he suggested "independent use of television and other mechanical aids" and development of "self-teaching materials."

Stone's Weekly argued for "review, amends and reinstatement" of the teachers "not just on utilitarian grounds, because the shortage of teachers is acute, but for profounder reasons of education in the fundamentals of a free society." **Teacher News** editorialized (12/23/57): "It is high time that the shameful N.Y.C. inquisition with its annual quota of sacrifices in the form of devoted, sorely needed teachers, be ended."

Little in Nashville Tennessean

THE ONE WHO PAYS

Sane Nuclear Policy group set up in Detroit

A DETROIT COMMITTEE for a Sane Nuclear Policy has been organized and has opened a campaign to raise funds to pay for newspaper advertising calling for an end to the testing of nuclear bombs.

Officers elected by the group, which has been functioning informally since last spring, were Meta Riseman, chairman; Joyce Clark, secretary; Clarence Wilson, treasurer. Contributions to the Detroit committee may be sent to 83 E. Adams, Detroit 26, Mich.

Manchester Guardian

AFRICAN REPRESENTATION

IN RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

Britain lays the ground for another Kenya tragedy

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE BIG COLONIAL debate in Parliament recently was about the Constitution Amendment Bill for the North and South Rhodesia and Nyasaland "Federation"—the three-in-one settler-controlled setup which was recently forced on the inhabitants of those African territories. There the population is over 96% African but government in London shows no concern to give them a "fair" say, or indeed any effective say, in their own government.

The bill provides a fantastically complex dual-roll voting system. This ensures (as Movt. for Colonial Freedom experts point out) "LESS representation for the Africans than even under the present system." (At present 220,000 whites have 26 representatives in the Federal Assembly and 7 million Africans have nine, five of whom are mainly white-nominated.)

An African Affairs Board of three white and three African Federal Assemblymen, set up by the Tories themselves "to safeguard African interests," objected to the new bill as discriminatory. The Federal government under fire-eating Sir Roy Welensky, and the London government, both disregarded the Board.

A MATTER OF FAITH: Even conservative groups in Britain were perturbed about "serious repercussions" from enacting the bill over the Board's objections. Declaring that "Britain's good faith is at stake," the **Times** gave prominence to a letter from Lord Farringdon, chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, recalling that all African representatives in the N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland parliaments (S. Rhodesia has none) passionately opposed the bill. The British Council of Churches said approval of the bill now would "have lasting consequences in the further deterioration of race relationships."

The **Observer**, on the eve of the debate, called upon the government to "stand by the Board's decision and reject this bill"; and upon Labour to meet this "challenge to declare their support of African rights—a support which has been in reasonable doubt in Central Africa ever since a Labour Government initiated the first steps towards Federation without stipulating the need of African acceptance."

A FRUSTRATED PEOPLE: As the time neared for the vote on Labour's resolution to pigeonhole the bill hundreds of English and African anti-colonialists gathered in a House of Commons committee-room to be briefed for a last-minute lobbying of MP's. "Tonight," said Kenneth Kaunda, gen. secy. of the African Natl. Congress of N. Rhodesia, "the fate is at stake in this House of seven million Africans who are told they are savages and should be grateful. Our people are going more and more towards the South African way of life—of servitude, suffering and frustration. A frustrated people are capable of anything." Said organizing secy. D. Chisiza of Nyasland's African Natl. Congress:

"A few thousand Africans will be permitted to vote under this bill, but to qualify they must own so much property, earn so much or pass tests in reading and writing English. But English is not our language—it is like asking British voters to read and write French. And who decides how many Africans are going to have education, and how many schools there will be? And who decides how much we earn? All they need do is keep African wages below the amount necessary to qualify. [In 1956, 49% of N. Rhodesian workers earned $12.60 a month; the minimum to qualify for voting is $35.]

"We have tried all constitutional means; what else can we do? I wish I could believe in the Labour Party. It has fine ideas, but what will it do when it comes back to power? I am beginning to lose faith in it, but I still feel it can avert disaster."

A MELANCHOLY VOICE: With Kenya and Algeria and Cyprus before their eyes, everyone present knew what kind of disaster he was talking about. Fenner Brockway of the Movt. for Colonial Freedom, chairman John Stonehouse and a few other Labour MP's were there to show the solidarity with Africa of the party's genuine anti-imperialists. They had been all day in the chamber "trying to catch the Speaker's eye," and returned to continue trying until nearly 11 p.m. when the House divided on straight party lines—301 to 245 against Labor's resolution.

Labor had put a "three-line whip" on its MP's to come and vote; but the conclusion was foregone. The foundations for another Kenya had been laid—with Labor helping to lay them when in power, and protesting when it was probably too late.

Chisiza's strong, melancholy voice echoed through the committee room, and along corridors haunted by the ghosts of generations of Tory and "socialist" imperialists: "What will Labor do when it comes back to power?"

'Bi-partisan befuddlement'

THUS FAR, THE MAIN American response to the Sputniks is what might be termed a policy of bipartisan befuddlement.

This may be one of the most unfortunate consequences of the President's latest illness. For now Mr. Dulles presides over our foreign policy more exclusively than ever. And neither Mr. Dulles nor his consultant, Mr. Stevenson, has had a new foreign policy idea in 10 years . . .

Our misreading of the Soviet Union has been even more serious. We had a false view of the revolution in 1917 and then of the viability of the Soviet system. We had a false view first of Soviet policies vis-a-vis Nazi Germany. We had a false view of the U.S.S.R. during our wartime alliance. Since the war, we have had an equally false view of Soviet scientific and productive capabilities.

In the light of this record, is it too much to suggest that we may have been wrong, also, about the inevitable propensity of the Soviet system to military aggression? We are prisoners of this assumption. Its worst impact has been to impel us to concentrate on military solutions for problems which are essentially non-military.

Our unwarranted fear of Soviet military aggression has likewise impelled us to waste billions of dollars on military allies which have neither the physical strength nor the psychological will to fight if they should have to. It has hamstrung our policy on China. It has blocked any fresh approach to the vital question of Germany. It has led us into the cul-de-sac of the Eisenhower doctrine and left us floundering in the face of an explosive Middle Eastern situation.

Our failure to come up with foreign policy answers to these matters is the real crisis, not Sputniks. And it can be met only by addressing ourselves to a searching re-evaluation of the basic assumptions of our foreign policy. It is difficult to see how wailing, wringing the hands and calling on Adlai Stevenson for moral support offer any solution at all.

—Fred Warner Neal in L.A. **Times**, 12/11

Israel crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

of Defense. It appears they were to have held talks with West German officials of corresponding rank and—according to diplomatic sources here—with former Nazi Gen. Hans Speidel, who commands the land forces of NATO.

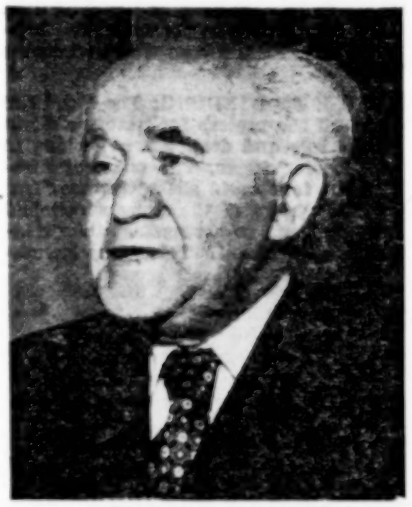
The purpose of the talks apparently was not the conclusion of a military alliance; under the circumstances this seems hardly feasible since no regular diplomatic relations exist as yet between Israel and the Federal Republic. Rather, diplomats here believe, the talks were to have concerned large-scale purchase of German military equipment by Israel and coordination of the types of arms used, so as to integrate Israel militarily—if not openly politically—into the Western bloc.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: Ben Gurion wants to have Israel enter NATO or, alternatively, to obtain a NATO guarantee. This the recent Paris meeting, despite French pressure, refused to grant, but it has for some time been leading Israel in the direction of ever closer ties with Bonn as potentially the most powerful European member of the Western military alliance. The choice of bed-fellows—ex-Nazis on the one hand and Jewish generals on the other—is odd, to say the least, but it is regarded as the logical conclusion of a foreign policy that has for years veered from non-identification to total identification with one bloc.

During the Suez campaign, Israel was allied to Britain and France—an alliance opposed by many Israelis who were quite ready to go to war against Egypt to put an end to incessant border violations, but were not ready to pull the colonial powers' chestnuts out of the Middle East fire. Moreover, as events have since shown, the French alliance has proved too weak to offer this country any real protection; and the British, after the Suez failure, at once reverted to their former pro-Arab position.

It is generally acknowledged here today that the rececnt revival of the 1947 partition scheme was not a Soviet maneuver, as had been previously claimed, but, according to pro-Government Jerusalem **Post**, was "due to the initiative of Nuri Said Pasha of Iraq, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he enjoyed British backing."

A DANGEROUS TREND: With American policy vacillating under the opposing pressures of Jewish and pro-Arab (oil) interests, Prime Minister Ben Gurion finally saw himself forced to attempt to conclude an unofficial alliance with the one Western power uncommitted in the Middle East—the German Federal Republic. Whether or not this attempt would have succeeded belongs in the realm of speculation, although it is extremely doubtful that Bonn would have sacrificed its interests in the Arab world for Israel's sake.



PREMIER BEN GURION
The sign reads: Danger

[Reports from Bonn indicated that the West German government was "cool" to the Israeli overtures.]

For the time being, the mission has been canceled, but the whole episode reveals a dangerous trend in Israel foreign policy. Not only the Cabinet, but public opinion as a whole, is split wide open. With the exception of the leading government party, Mapai (and even here there are dissident voices), almost all sections of the press and the public are opposed to a German-Israeli rapprochement on a military basis. This opposition is based not only on the memory of Nazi horror and 6,000,000 martyred Jews, but also on the growing realization that complete identification of a small country with one of the two military blocs is a suicidal policy.

On the contrary, writes **Al Hamishmar**, Israel should insist that the contending blocs move the Middle East out of the range of their rivalry and that both guarantee the security of all the nations of this region.

MORE REVOLUTIONS ON THE WAY?

Arab feudal rulers pressed by national freedom groups

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

"SINCE OUR EXPERIENCE during last year's attack on Egypt," Aly Sabry said, "people understand the real meaning of Arab unity and are convinced of its necessity."

Sabry, President Nasser's chief aide, noted a vital factor in the development of the Arab liberation movement: the restoration of Egypt as the axis of the Arab world. To prevent Arab unity, imperialism kept Egypt isolated and made the Suez Canal a continental divide separating the Arabs of Asia from the Arabs of Africa. The 1952 Egyptian revolution restored Egypt to the Arab world.

The 1948 Palestine war convinced the revolution's leaders of the historic necessity for Arab unity, which would have remained an empty dogma but for the people's revolutionary struggle for independence. July, 1952, was the climax for the armed insurrection against the British launched by the people in the Canal Zone in 1951, when Cairo abrogated the British treaty. Britain answered by burning Cairo.

NASSER AT BANDUNG: The Cairo fire provided the pretext for restoring direct palace rule and dealing heavy blows to the popular forces. The only organization left that could strike was the "free officers" group in the army which had long prepared to act against the "treasonous government." This group launched the revolution, relying on the support of the people. This prevented adventurist elements from tying up with the West, especially the U.S.

KING SAUD
Uneasy sits the crown

In internal democracy, Egyptians paid a price because the revolution was led by the army: there is still no harmony between the revolutionary changes that have taken place and the existing political institutions and organizations. But the masses have a decisive voice on the basic issue of independence. Their pressure sent Nasser to Bandung in answer to imperialist attempts to align Arab states militarily with the West.

At Bandung, Nasser undertook to form an Arab bloc as the western shield of the Bandung powers. It later took in the then neutralist Arab countries—Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen. Bandung ended the political and economic isolation imperialism sought to impose on Egypt and other newly liberated countries.

CAIRO LEADS: Egypt's purchase of Czech arms in September, 1955, ended Western control of its arms supplies, needed to maintain an independent and neutral policy. The Czech deal opened the door to cooperation between the Arab liberation movement and the socialist countries. The recent Soviet-Syrian economic agreement suggests its potential significance.

Thus Egypt assumed leadership of the Arab national movement, although Syria was more advanced in political institutions and democracy. The movement's development will be determined, however, by popular pressure represented by refugees, exiles, open and underground leaders from other Arab lands now active in Cairo and to a lesser extent in Damascus. Radio Cairo carries the ideas of liberation to the illiterate fellaheen of the remotest Arabian village.

One of the least known of these movements is the National Reform Front which aims to liberate Saudi Arabia from King Saud's despotism. The Front works for: a democratic parliament; a free press; the right to organize political parties and trade unions; close relations with Moscow and Peking; Arab unity and independence.

NATIONAL FRONTS: The NRF grew out of the 21-day strike in 1953 by Aramco's Arabian workers. They faced the full power of the Saudi government, Aramco and American troops brought from the U.S. Dahran base to "guard" the oil company. A Saudi worker told me: "We learned the reason for the U.S. base."

Aramco failed to intimidate the workers by announcing that the U.S. 2nd Division would be transferred from West Germany. Some 60 workers telegraphed the King demanding a change in foreign policy. Arrested and placed in solitary confinement, they were later released for lack of evidence. Saud's troops raided a party celebrating their release and arrested many leaders. Although more than 60 are still in jail, the movement has not been crushed.

AT THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE IN 1955 THE THEME WAS FREEDOM
For the Arabs it opened the way to unity against imperialism

Kuwait also has its liberation movement. Thanks to the oil tankers which put in there, Kuwait is a center of international intercourse and it has become the turntable of the Persian Gulf area liberation movement. With some 50,000 workers employed in the Kuwait oil fields, the significance of this progressive center should not be underestimated. In Cairo, among students from other Arab lands, those from Kuwait tend to be among the most active and politically advanced. Recently they published a book on Arab nationalism.

FEUDALISM CRACKING: The underground movement in Iraq is a broad national front embracing all political parties except the Moslem Brothers. The National Conference Party represents the national bourgeoisie (soap, beer, textile manufacturers, middle landowners, intellectuals, lawyers, teachers). They are much weaker than in Syria. Al Baath has a limited influence among students and intellectuals. The Kurdish Party works for a united Kurdistan. The Communists are the acknowledged heads in the movement. Their underground newspaper **Al-Owaydab** (The Little One That Keeps Coming Back) is the most widely circulated in the country. The 50,000 oil workers in Iraq remain backward and outside the liberation movement.

The Iraq National Front demands: Iraq's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact; resistance to imperialism in all its forms, including the Eisenhower Doctrine; positive neutralism; abolition of martial law; release of all political prisoners and concentration camp internees; reinstatement of all students, teachers, officials dismissed for political reasons; and economic reforms.

It is idle to predict how soon these popular front liberation movements will come to power. But the feudal structure of the Arab East is clearly cracking and national revolutions in Iraq, and other Arab lands, are already on the order of the day.

The invisible 16th guest at the NATO conference

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

WHILE THE HEADS of 15 NATO nations conferred at Paris' Palais de Chaillot for three days behind security-conscious doors from which only paraphrases, unquotes and ifs-wrapped-in-maybes leaked out, a revealing incident occurred at one of the last press briefings. It was something Paul-Henri Spaak, NATO Secretary General and sole spokesman at all press conferences, said to one of the numerous daily questions about Marshal Bulganin's letter and how NATO was going to reply to it. Spaak's answers up to then had been non-committal or indifferent. This time, he almost pleaded:

"Listening to you," said Spaak, "one would think that only the Russians have made any peace proposals so far. You mustn't think that. You mustn't say so either . . ."

THE 16TH GUEST: The remark gives an idea of the climate at the Palais de Chaillot that December week. The invisible 16th guest at the NATO conference table was not so much Bulganin, as the **Herald Tribune** had it: it was Peace.

The Atlantic Alliance showed many signs of fatigue as it met in Paris. But the message that shook it to its foundations was brought by the invisible guest.

To the cold-war-to-the-end fighters, the NATO session revealed a few unpleasant truths:

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"No, let's keep it open!"

- Peace can be a more attractive economic proposition than war.
- Peace, to people anywhere in the world, is always a more attractive proposition than war, hot or cold.
- Public opinion is strong enough today to make its weight felt through locked conference doors; few governments, if any, can afford to ignore it.

TIME WILL TELL: The outstanding revelation of the NATO meeting was that most European countries today would rather disarm with the Soviet Union than continue to arm with the U.S. But the U.S. delegation tried to make the least possible concessions to that fact. After a first retreat from military intransigeance to prudent vagueness, it put enough concerted pressure on the final phase of the conference to water down an approach to the East and to uphold NATO priority to the atomic weapons race.

Just how much military or political reality that face-saving final NATO communiqué will have for the advocates of bigger and better Cold War, time will tell. Time will also tell whether, after its first internal anti-Cold War revolt, NATO will ever be the same again.

THE PIONEERS OF OUTER SPACE ARE WORKING FOR PEACE

Soviet scientist: What he's like, how he works

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

A GOOD EXAMPLE of the type of scientist who is doing pioneer work on Soviet probes into outer space is Evgenyi Fyodorov who heads the Institute of Geophysics at the Soviet Academy of Science. He is a specialist in astronautics and vice-president of the Soviet state committee for the International Geophysical Year. Last month in Paris he gave his colleagues some preliminary data on what has been learned from the two sputniks.

He is a burly, friendly man and very human. Just 20 years ago he was floating around on an iceberg near the North Pole. He was a member of the famous four-man team, headed by Papanin, which stayed for nine months on a floating iceberg at the North Pole in 1937-38. They were taken off by plane in a dramatic rescue. Papanin these days is in charge of the northern waterways which will be kept open in part by the recently-launched atom ice-breaker. Fyodorov was at the Pole to study the upper atmosphere, meteorology and astronomy. It is certainly due in part to his work 20 years ago that there is today a regular air route over the North Pole.

THEY ALL GET IT: I called on Fyodorov to talk about sputniks and he immediately warned me that his specialty was "higher levels of the atmosphere" and this was the only thing that brought him in touch with sputniks. "I am not an engineer," he said, "so don't make your questions too technical." I reminded him that there has been some speculation as to whether the sputnik was a by-product of an intercontinental missile or whether the missile was developed to launch a sputnik. He replied: "It's incorrect to link the two problems that way. Our scientists theorized about jet propulsion and rocket engines for a long time. Then our technicians built them. Once they were developed, they were placed at the disposal of various branches of industry, of science, wherever else they were needed. We want to—and basically we do—apply all the achievements of our science and technique to peaceful purposes. To do anything else is wasteful and scientists don't like waste. To illustrate: we have built the first atomic power station. Of course we prefer that to atom bombs. We have just launched our first ship powered by atomic engines. It is an ice-breaker; not an atomic submarine.

"As with the ice-breaker, so with our jet and rocket technique. As soon as the scientists and technicians produced a rocket engine able to achieve the first cosmic velocity of five miles per second, this was handed over to us for use in the

Regards, Paris

scientific field. The result—our first two sputniks. We scientists—and the technicians feel as we do—feel that we are solving the most important problems facing our country and are immediately applying our discoveries for peaceful, scientific purposes. And not only for our own country, but for the world in general."

AT WORK A LONG TIME: I thought of Swedish airlines today making the regular Stockholm-Tokyo flights over the North Pole where Fyodorov 20 years ago sat on an ice floe and kept his nine-

EVGENYI FYODOROV
At the North Pole in 1937

month vigil and felt he had given authentic proof of his outlook.

"The guiding principles of our science," he continued, "are to bring together to the maximum degree scientific research and practical work, and to concentrate our research on solving the basic theoretical problems which bar the way to future advance."

Fyodorov spoke of work on inter-planetary flights that has gone on for decades. Scientists continued their work even during World War II, in research centers moved far back from the front. Their research was not interrupted even for defense needs.

"Tsiolkovsky founded our scientific branch of astronautics," he said, "and he never thought of any military application of this science." When I asked if in all his published works Tsiolkovsky had never touched on military matters, he replied: "I have read not all but many of his works and of those who followed him and I do not recall a single line about the theories of rocket flight being used for military purposes."

"Of course, their works were theoretical. In those days there was no chance of creating the material base for putting the theories into practice. But now this part is solved too and great interest has been aroused among our scientists to solve the remaining problems in the way of flight to the planets.

"An outstanding young scientist, Yegorov, for instance, is now working on the most suitable flight plan to the Moon."

THE GERMAN SCIENTISTS: I asked Fyodorov to comment on statements by Wernher von Braun, inventor of the German V2, and director of U.S. rocket research, who told the Scripps Howard press Dec. 2 that he had "been mistaken" in assessing Soviet progress in rockets. Braun said he had talked with German specialists who had returned from the Soviet Union two years before and that he had concluded "from what they told me that the Russians had made foolish use of German specialists they had captured at the close of the second world war. The German specialists," Braun concluded, had been "effectively isolated from the real Soviet rocket program."

"Braun is quite correct on one point," Fyodorov said. "German specialists did not participate in developing the Soviet system of rockets. The sputnik launcher and the ICBM were developed quite independently of the work of German scientists. Some German specialists worked in the Soviet Union for a certain period but their work was limited to that of making Soviet scientists acquainted with the designs of the V1 and V2. But our rocket system in fact has nothing at all to do with V1 and V2 rockets. Braun was not correct in speaking of 'military prisoners.' They were specialists invited to come by Soviet scientists. They worked on definite contracts for specified periods."

THE QUICKER WAY: Fyodorov was reticent about commenting on the failure of the U.S. sputnik. He said: "We Soviet scientists and the Soviet people in general pay great attention to solving the main basic problems. We do not think it worthwhile to go after narrow, limited targets, the hitting of which would not solve the whole problem. Perhaps we lose a little as far as quick results are concerned but in the end the solving of basic problems is quicker."

Information radioed back from the first two sputniks was still being analyzed, Fyodorov said, and when the results are complete, "you can be quite sure a full scientific report will be prepared and distributed to international organs concerned."

"We hope," he added, "that information obtained from rocket tests in the upper atmosphere carried out by other countries, including the U.S., will also be made available to all countries, including the U.S.S.R."

Fyodorov said that "there was no question of a sputnik with a human being aboard being launched into outer space until there had been many more experiments with animals and until animals had been brought back to earth alive."

SOUTH DOMINATES WATCHDOG COMMITTEE

Bi-partisan 'relapse' perils civil rights in 1958 Congress

THERE IS A TWO-PART axiom in American political life that's as sure as death and taxes: (1) Democrats and Republicans will act to further the Negro's constitutional rights only under extreme necessity; (2) as soon as they can relapse into complacency and routinism, they will.

The first was illustrated last year when President Eisenhower ordered Federal troops to enforce court-ordered desegregation in Central High School at Little Rock, Ark., and when Congress passed a moderate civil rights bill.

The second seemed destined for fulfillment as Congress prepared to open its 1958 session on Jan. 7. The tip-off came last Dec. 9 when Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, in his first press conference after taking over from Herbert Brownell, called for a "cooling off period" on the civil rights front. He would not recommend to President Eisenhower any new civil rights legislation, he said, because "some of the acrimonious debate is harmful to the country."

MORE LITTLE ROCKS? Actually, the proposal for an official civil rights standstill was first put forth by Rep. Brooks Hays (D-Ark.) The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (12/10/57) indicated that the plan has powerful bi-partisan backing and "conforms with the wishes of Sens. Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) and William F. Knowland (R-Calif.), respectively the majority and minority leaders of the Senate."

Negro spokesmen were quick to express their vigorous opposition. Roy Wilkins, NAACP exec. secy., noting that one of Rogers' stated aims was to avoid aggravating the Little Rock crisis, wrote to the President: "Unless a firm stand is maintained over the whole desegregation front, mobs and their back-stage managers will continue to mock law and order, with the result that there will be more, not fewer, Little Rocks." He added that the NAACP "expects to join others in pressing for additional legislation in the Congress and trusts that the Administration will see the wisdom of giving official support to the effort."

DRAGGING FEET: The N. Y. **Amsterdam News** saw the Rogers proposal as "the equivalent of an army stopping in the middle of a battle which it is winning and saying, 'Let's take a ten minute break.' "

Civil rights adherents found further cause for uneasiness in the slow progress being made in picking and fielding the new Civil Rights Commission. The watchdog Federal body, authorized by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, was finally constituted in late December with the elevation of Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, to the chairmanship. The post had been accepted and vacated by former Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed before the commission convened. Doyle Carlton, a former governor of Florida, was named the sixth member of the commission.

The composition of the commission caused as much concern as its difficulty in getting under way. Three of its six members (Carlton, ex-governor John S. Battle of Virginia, and Dean Robert G. Story of Southern Methodist University Law School) are Southern Democrats. The Washington **Post** noted that "they can no doubt be expected to appreciate

Tapley in Amsterdam News

and reflect Southern attitudes respecting racial relations."

'STATESMANLIKE': Edward D. Hollander, director of Americans for Democratic Action, was more explicit. "The appointment of former Gov. Carlton," he said, "is evidence either of incredible political timidity or of equally incredible political chicanery on the part of the Eisenhower Administration . . . As now constituted [the commission] is tailor-made for confirmation by Sen. James O. Eastland [chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee], but it is incapable of performing the function for which it was created."

There was even some question as to how firm the Northern members of the commission would be on matters coming before the group. Responding to Hannah's selection as chairman, Sen. John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.) said: "I understand he has made some recent statements to the general effect that he believes the Southern point of view on civil rights must be considered. These statements sound statesmanlike to me."

Selection of a full-time director was the main point on the commission's agenda in its first meeting with President Eisenhower on Jan. 3.

Herblock in Washington Post

FIRESIDE CHAT

The Gaither Report

(Continued from Page 1)

rine fleet, armed with atomic missiles, can destroy U.S. industrial centers.

• Soviet intermediate-range missile bases already in operation have neutralized present U.S. overseas bases.

• By means of new electronic discoveries, the Soviet Union has made its air defense more effective than America's.

• The U.S. is sadly lacking in the ability to put out even brushfire wars.

• By 1961 Moscow will have—but Washington will not—a decisive stockpile of inter-continental ballistic missiles. A person said to be familiar with the report said it would make the U.S. "rely on [Soviet] goodwill to avoid destruction."

Scientific and diplomatic

• When the sputniks were launched it revealed "the chilling fact that the Russians were advancing ahead of America in science on a broad front," and were increasing their already rapid pace of productivity.

• Soviet economic aid to undeveloped countries at low interest rates is expanding. There is also a new flexibility in Soviet diplomacy and a broad and more advanced educational system.

ON AID AND SCIENCE: If the leaks in the press are accurate the Gaither Report says nothing startlingly new about the rapid pace of Soviet scientific, technological and industrial development. Many American scientists, educators and businessmen have been well aware of it. In these fields, the Report recommended greater foreign aid, a better foreign service, improvement in the educational system and encouragement of scientists and science students.

But, as long as U.S. foreign policy remains tied to the war chariot—concentrating on globe-girdling military alliances against Moscow and Peking—Washington can hardly extend the kind of economic aid being offered by the Soviet Union to the undeveloped countries.

WHAT IS NEEDED: Walter Lippmann described U.S. foreign aid as only "the annual upkeep of the system of military alliances which was inaugurated under Truman and extended and elaborated under Eisenhower." He added: "There is no way to separate the policy from the foreign aid, which is simply and almost solely the money needed to make the policy work." Only a change in foreign policy can make it possible for the U.S. to extend foreign aid acceptable to undeveloped countries.

Such a change also is essential for an improved foreign service. For a policy tied to such historical anachronisms as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee can only continue doing what it has done in the past: smear and persecute honest experts on China and the Soviet Union or send them to pound a beat in the sticks.

Similarly, only a change in values—which in government today equates merit with money—can improve the lot of educators and the educational system.

THE MILITARY FRONT: The Report's conclusions and recommendations on military matters, however, were truly startling, and have caused great anxiety here and abroad. As the **Wall Street Journal** said (12/27/57): "The Gaither group is said to have concluded that the nation's peril is extreme. Accordingly it recommends extreme actions."

The Report is said to have given "top priority to increased spending for military offensive and defensive power" (**N.Y. Times,** 12/21/57). It recommends an increase of $8,000,000,000 a year over the current $39,000,000,000 a year in military expenditure; and an outlay of $5,000,000,000 a year for four or five years to build shelters to protect people from radioactive fall-out, but not from the direct blast. There was no explanation for the distinction.

The military expenditure would be for a sharply stepped-up missile program; a vastly increased Strategic Air Commond stationed at many more bases widely dispersed abroad "to complicate Russian attempts to neutralize them" (**Herald Tribune,** 11/23/57); increased strength "to fight limited wars—especially in the Middle East" (**Newsweek,** 12/30/57).

PREVENTIVE WAR: The most alarming recommendation was related to the concept of preventive war. Columnist Drew Pearson said (12/17/57) that in the committee's reasoning "the first attack in modern atomic war would be so massive . . . . that the country which makes the attack would probably win." He said that Asst. Defense Secy. Mansfield Sprague "fought inside the committee for an even stronger report [pointing out] that if war appears inevitable some time in the future, it would be disastrous for us to wait until the Kremlin strikes the first blow." Pearson added: "This, in blunt language, is preventive war."

Times columnist Arthur Krock reported that Foster made a speech before an Army contingent known as SCUSA IX which appeared "by deduction to have been [the committee's] most important recommendation to the President and the National Security Council." Foster said: "We must attempt to get away from the strange dichotomy with which we have traditionally viewed force, refusing to consider it except as a last resort."

WHO DECIDES?: To Krock this strongly implied that "the report to the NSC gives the most powerful support thus far in the U.S. to the military policy of striking an enemy before an assault he obviously is about to make on this country." Krock did not say who is to decide when "an enemy" is "obviously" ready to attack.

Even if it turns out that the committee did not recommend preventive war, it would still be a shocking phenomenon that "too many men in too many places have already placed this grim construction on the story" (**N.Y. Post,** 12/29/57).

It is a disturbing commentary on Washington's "positions of strength" and "massive retaliation" policies: they have created a mental atmosphere in which responsible newspapers and journalists without emotion believe the committee capable of suggesting a preventive war. The **Post** logically wondered:

"How would we react if we heard that a 'secret' study by high Russian leaders contained even a vague inference that a preventive war is preferable to an unfavorable stalemate?"

ECONOMIC BOOSTER? In the light of rumblings of an ecnomic crisis in the U.S., there was speculation whether much of the Gaither Report, coming from top-level industrialists, might not be an attempt to give the economy a shot in the arm. If Washington followed through on the committee's recommendations for a vast increase in military expenditure, the next step would be an appeal from the Administration for national "sacrifice"—of course by the people least able to make it.

America's allies abroad were bewildered and worried by the Report. Moscow and Peking called it an attempt to get "big military orders." At home, there were insistent demands from press and Congress to make it public. Such a step, it was said, could create no greater anxiety than the ominous leaks.

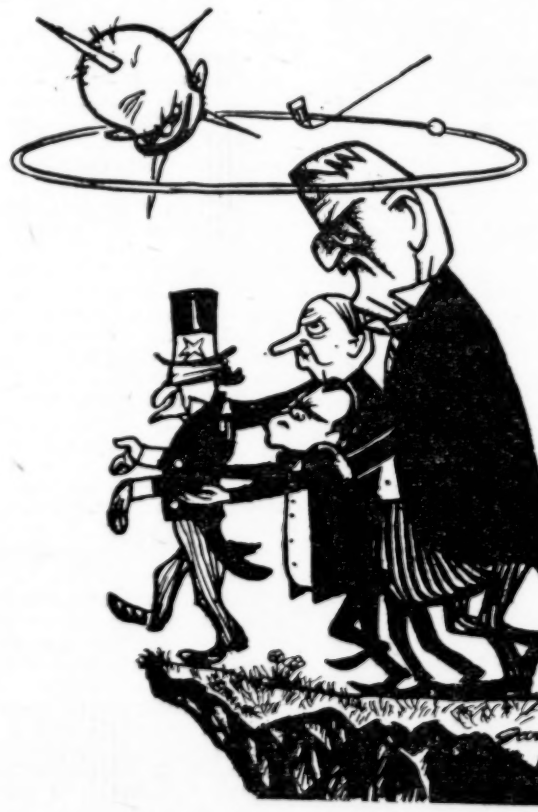
Brass hats and corporate minds

The Gaither Committee was composed of a panel, an advisory group and a group of specialists.

PANEL: H. Rowan Gaither, former head of the Ford Foundation; William C. Foster, Olin-Mathieson Chemical Corp.; Robert C. Sprague, Sprague Electric Co.; Dr. James A. Perkins, Carnegie Corp.; Dr. Robert C. Prim, Bell Telephone Laboratories; Dr. Hector R. Skifter, Airborne Instrument Laboratories; William Webster, New England Electric System; Prof. Jerome B. Wiesner, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. James P. Baxter 3d, president of Williams College; Dr. Robert D. Calkins, Brookings Institution; John J. Corson, McKinsey Co.

ADVISORY GROUP: Adm. Robert B. Carney, Westinghouse Electric Co.; Gen. James H. Doolittle, Shell Oil Co.; Gen. John E. Hull, Manufacturing Chemists Assn.; Dr. Mervin J. Kelly and Dr. James B. Fisk, Bell Telephone; Dr. James R. Killian Jr., MIT; Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, Radiation Laboratory, U. of California; Robert Lovett, Brown Bros. & Harriman; John J. McCloy, Chase Manhattan Bank; Dr. Frank Stanton, Columbia Broadcasting System; Dr. I. I. Rabi, Science Advisory Committee.

SPECIALISTS: Paul H. Nitze, George Washington U.; Col. George A. Lincoln, U. S. Military Academy; Edward P. Oliver, Rand Corp.; Gen. James McCormick Jr., president, and Dr. Albert G. Hill, vice president and director of research of the Institute for Defense Analysis.



The spiritual core of the campus

RENAN REMARKED that "countries which, like the United States, have set up a considerable popular instruction without any serious higher education, will long have to expiate their error by their intellectual mediocrity, the vulgarity of their manners, their superficial spirit, their failure in general intelligence." This statement seems true. But the United States may now be going beyond the situation Renan described, for we are tending to abandon the considerable popular instruction to which he referred and to substitute for it a considerable popular accommodation.

Undoubtedly conditions that we may hope are temporary have accentuated the anti-intellectualism of American life and have brought the tendencies of American education into sharp relief. The Cold War and the opportunity it offers to identify conformity with patriotism have gone far to silence that independent criticism and that full and frank discussion which seem indispensable to any system of education worthy of the name.

The condition of the higher learning is such that responsible educators can abandon the pursuit of a rational and intelligible programme and suggest that football is the spiritual core of education. One of them, the President of the College of the Pacific, has lately pointed out that philosophy was once the "integrity force" in higher education and that such a force is needed today. He then repudiates the claims of science or religion to this role. He goes on: "The curriculum has become diversified; there are numerous electives. Few study the same courses or sit under the same professor . . . So, in this period of intellectual and social disintegration of the American college, all unite in football . . . Football has become more than a spectacle; it has become a symbol; it has become one of the great intangibles not only of college but of our American life. Actually, if you want to look at it on a higher level, football has become the spiritual core of the modern campus."

—Robert M. Hutchins in **Some Observations on American Education**

WILLIAM C. FOSTER
Big gun

REXFORD TUGWELL'S 'THE DEMOCRATIC ROOSEVELT'

A look into the soul of American politics

By Vincent Hallinan

THIS IS AN EXTREMELY valuable book,* though for a different reason than the author perhaps intended. His close association with FDR does not lead to revelations which we would have hoped for. Roosevelt remains an enigmatic character. Tugwell states: ". . . he allowed no one to know his inner life. This applied as obviously to his mother and Eleanor as it did to others." This appears to be a barrier which baffled all his biographers.

In addition, the author early discloses a bias which must have dulled his critical sense. He tells us: ". . . meeting him was something like coming into contact with destiny. It was a tremendous, an unnerving experience, only to be realized and assimilated over a long time."

If Tugwell's connection with FDR thus approximated Moses' interview with God on Mount Sinai, it does not leave the reader with a corresponding ecstasy.

The value of the book lies in its inside story of the fraud, corruption, greed, treachery, double-dealing, deceit, lying and cheating which is the soul of American politics and which its successful manipulators carry over into American policies. In this respect it is on a plane with such works as Lincoln Steffens' **Autobiography.** The innocent will, perhaps, be shocked to learn of Roosevelt's suppleness in adjusting himself to the creed of this jungle and, perhaps, to Tugwell's euphemisms and justifications in discussing them. Two examples:

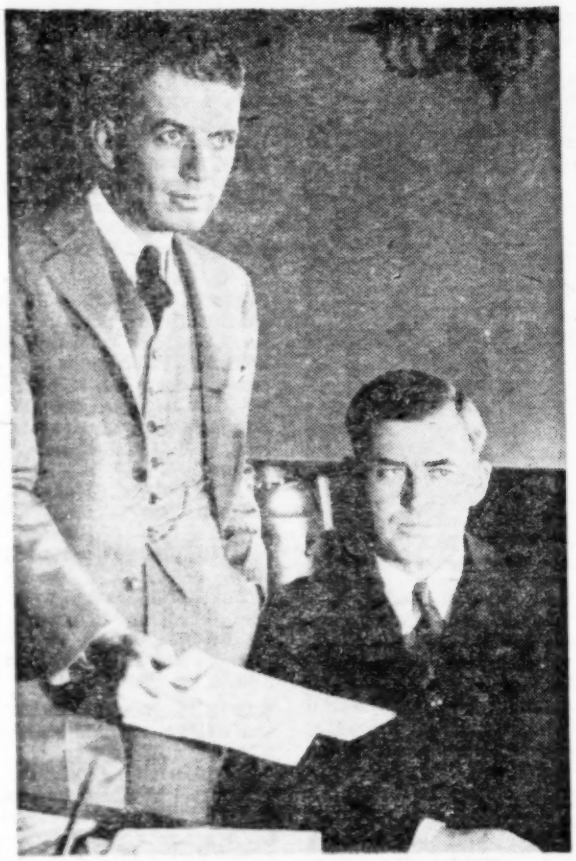
- ". . . he had that indispensable trait for one in his position, an ability to smother his scruples when they threatened to interfere with his usefulness."
- When the Morgenthau plan for de-industrializing Germany aroused violent opposition, ". . . he proceeded to pretend he knew nothing about it. Unfortunately his initials were evidence to the contrary."

Says Tugwell: "Neither these nor other lapses from principle did any immediate political harm. In the expedient sense they had this much justification."

O Tempora! O Mores!

THE AUTHOR INSISTS that the purposes of this moral elasticity were good. Then they had the defect of being futile. The book will help persuade the reader that no leadership can maintain a liberal policy against the will of the vested interests which control the nation's policies. When Roosevelt became President in the depths of the depression, Congress was glad to divest itself of responsibility and hand it over to him.

Thus, he was able to procure the NRA, AAA, CCC, Social Security, Insurance of Bank Deposits, the TVA and other beneficial legislation. The minute the panic subsided he could do nothing. His proposal for "seven new regional authorities to develop natural resources . . . did not even emerge from committee . . . The congressional subservience to the pressure groups in Washington had become a groveling scandal."



EARLY NEW DEAL BRAIN-TRUSTERS
Rexford Tugwell (l.) and Henry Wallace

This was true even after 1940 when "three quarters of the Senators and four fifths of the congressmen" were Democrats.

In the last century, a French observer said that our two big parties were like two bottles from the same cast—both empty. In 1952, there was some astonishment that General Eisenhower was being vigorously supported by a Democrat-turned-Republican, John W. Davis, who had been the Democratic Party candidate for the Prensidency in 1924. Tugwell's book reveals other coat-changes: Charles E. Wilson and Nelson Rockefeller, two of Ike's millionaire staff, were important FDR appointees; Al Smith, Democratic Presidential candidate in 1928, teamed with the most reactionary businessmen in the country to fight the New Deal; Herbert Hoover could have had the Democratic Party nomination in 1920.

TUGWELL CONFIRMS Judge Sam Rosenman's disclosure that Roosevelt sent him to Wendell Willkie, suggesting that they form a third party because he despaired of making the Democratic Party "progressive". In defining this term, the author discloses the genesis of Wallace's "progressive capitalism". "Progressivism" meant a transition "from unlimited to regulated competition with some direction and some weighing in favor of those with the least power to bargain; and from individual responsibility for all risks of life to security for all in sickness, unemployment and old age." The depression had been due to "the private wars going on among the titans of industrial society. Each strove to exploit the other. Some succeeded, and in doing so, overturned the system. That, essentially, was our explanation of the current trouble."

If Tugwell correctly describes his fuzzy economics and petulant vanity, the Progressive Party had a weak champion in Henry Wallace.

He discusses many of the twistings and turnings by which the U. S. got into the Second World War, but he omits more than one important question. He dismisses, practically with a chuckle, the solemn assertion which Roosevelt made to the mothers of America during his 1940 campaign: "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." At that time he had already procured the peace-time draft and had completed the destroyer-bases exchange with England. Immediately after the election he put through the Lend-lease Act, warship patrol and other measures which were, actually, belligerent acts.

SOME LIGHT IS CAST upon this subject by the author's revelations concerning Roosevelt's conduct during World War I when he was an Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Tugwell says: " . . . there is evidence that Franklin came close to being insubordinate in advocating participation in the war and in breaching neutrality. He deliberately cultivated Spring-Rice, who was the British Ambassador and, as is now known, the head of a vast propaganda organization devoted to bringing the United States into the conflict."

His purpose? "It can only be described as imperialism, even if of a rather benevolent sort."

However, the worst omission relates to our dealings with Japan. Tugwell takes the common position that the Japanese delivered a treacherous blow at Pearl Harbor while the United States was trying desperately to preserve the peace and while the Japanese delegates were pretending it could be done. He makes no mention of Secy. of State Hull's note to Admiral Nomura on Nov. 26, containing the condition that Japan must remove from China—under the circumstances, a declaration of war. Neither does he discuss the meeting of the "War Cabinet" with Roosevelt the following day in which, according to Secretary of War Stimson's diary and General Marshall's testimony before a congressional committee, the important topic was how to maneuver the Japanese into firing the first shot.

The net effect of America's entry into the Second World War was to the benefit of humanity. It smashed fascism in Europe and Asia and facilitated the advance of the world revolutionary movement. This does not justify the historian in slanting his account.

REMEMBERING the ferocious valor with which the Red Armies fought the Nazis at Moscow, Odessa, Sevastopol, Rostov, Stalingrad, I was struck by the dishonesty with which he writes off their heroic epic (I have added the emphasis):

"The German thrust towards the East, well prepared as it was, and executed with customary efficiency, was doomed to fail, as Napoleon's campaign had failed, **beaten by distance and winter.** It was a long way to Moscow, even with motorized armies, and the hardships of campaigning in below-zero weather were immense. . . . The military had been wrong. Moscow had not fallen. **Winter was doing its work** and the Russians were growing relatively stronger."

He knows that the Nazi assault on Moscow jumped off on June 24 and was smashed in two months; that 90% of the fighting thereafter was in a region considerably south of Paris, France; that Sevastopol is about opposite Venice, Italy, and that Stalingrad is more than 300 miles south of Berlin.

Consider ng this last item, it is surprising that when he later informs us "the Russians were almost upon Berlin," he does not add: "aided by Winter."

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PEOPLE: THE AFFECTION WAS GENUINE
The battle came between a liberal policy and the vested interests

Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952 and vigorous proponent of independent political action, is a noted San Francisco attorney.

THE DEMOCRATIC ROOSEVELT, by Rexford G. Tugwell. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y. 712 pp., with 48 pp. of photographs. $8.50.

TWO KEY CASES NOW BEFORE SUPREME COURT

Foreign born make gains despite hounding

By John T. McManus

FOR A FIGHTER with one mitt handcuffed and the other engaged a good part of the time fighting off the referee, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is scoring an impressive list of knockouts.

● At Christmas time, the ACPFB won a permanent injunction against the government's 22-year effort to deport Leon Callow, of Niles, Ohio, now 62 years old and the father of nine American citizen children ranging in age from 8 to 28. Callow, of Macedonian birth, came to this country in 1915 and was a member of the Communist Party from 1927 to 1931 when he was expelled. He was arrested numerous times in the depression period while fighting for the unemployed. Deportation proceedings were begun against him in 1935. The ACPFB has been fighting the case since then.

THE ROWOLDT CASE: The Callow decision, by a Federal district judge in Ohio, was based on a Supreme Court decision of Dec. 9 terminating deportation proceedings against Charles Rowoldt of Minneapolis. In effect the Court found that Rowoldt's nominal membership, long past, in the CP did not constitute grounds for deportation. The Rowoldt decision may similarly affect some 300 similar ACPFB cases all over the country.

● On Dec. 5, the ACPFB was gathering for a national conference in Chicago to initiate its 25th year of activity. A Federal Court of Appeals in Illinois threw out a denaturalization order against Anthony Minerich, Croation publisher. This in effect canceled out a provision of the Walter-McCarran immigration law, passed in 1952, making membership in the Communist Party grounds for denaturalization if undisclosed at any time of obtaining citizenship prior to passage of the 1952 law.

The decision may have a decisive effect on two key denaturalization cases now before the Supreme Court—those of former Michigan State Senator Stanley Nowak of Detroit and Mrs. Rebecca Maisenberg, also of Detroit. Filed with the Court in connection with the Nowak and Maisenberg cases is an **amicus curiae** brief in behalf of 32 similar denaturalization cases.

STANLEY NOWAK
Sixteen long years

BACK TO 1942: Nowak, Polish-born, came to the U.S. in 1910 at age 7. As a youth he edited a Polish-language paper, later became an organizer for the United Auto Workers, CIO, and gained his citizenship in June, 1938. That same year he was elected State Senator in Michigan on the Democratic ticket and served five two-year terms, the last one without opposition at election time.

In 1942, just before his induction for the third term, a Federal grand jury in Detroit indicted him for swearing falsely in his citizenship affidavits. The proceeding was quashed by the U.S. attorney general early in 1943.

On Dec. 24, 1952, the day the Walter-McCarran Law became effective, Nowak was again served with notice of denaturalization proceedings, based on the same charges which had been quashed in 1943. Nowak denied the charges, and the case has been fought to the Supreme Court by attorneys George Crockett and Ernest Goodman of Detroit, retained by the Midwest CPFB.

32 OTHER CASES: The amicus brief, prepared by attorneys Donner, Kinoy and Perlin of New York in behalf of 32 similar cases, has been filed with consent of both the government and the Nowak defense. Among the 32 at the time of filing was the Minerich case, since won in the Illinois Court of Appeals. The 32 cases are those of naturalized citizens born between 1892 and 1913, who came to this country between 1903 and 1930. All face denaturalization on charges that they failed to disclose CP membership in citizenship applications between 1925 and 1945.

The Nowak case, with its cluster of deeply-concerned "friends of the Court" in the background, is scheduled for argument before the Supreme Court this month.

REFUSAL TO REGISTER: Meanwhile the ACPFB itself is scheduled to resume the fight this week to strike off the handcuffs placed on it last summer by court injunction obtained by the N.Y. attorney general. His order prevents the Committee from raising funds even for its own defense unless it registers as a charitable organization under a 1954 law aimed at fake charities.

The Committee has refused to register on grounds similar to those presented to the Supreme Court in behalf of the NAACP. This action challenges a $100,000 fine levied by the State of Alabama for refusal to register its membership and contributor list in the state. The Alabama proceedings were an outgrowth of the NAACP's role in bringing the Autherine Lucy disbarment from the University of Alabama to the courts; and for defending the Montgomery bus protest leaders.

The State of Alabama, the NAACP contends, seeks to "silence petitioner and its members." An **amicus brief** prepared in behalf of 14 organizations by the American Civil Liberties Union cites frequent Supreme Court decisions guaranteeing freedom of association and activity against "unreasonable and oppressive government restrictions"; and argues that "the very factors that justify protection of freedom of association in a democracy require also that organization be protected from prying by an unfriendly government . . ."

AN OPEN AIM: In the New York proceeding against the ACPFB, the Committee has pointed to previous instances of membership and contributor lists demanded by the State government finding their way into the hands of the FBI and immigration authorities, with resulting victimization of individuals and hamstringing of legitimate organization activities. New York authorities have openly stated that they aim to put the Committee out of action in New York.

On another front the ACPFB has been under attack by the U.S. attorney general since 1953 under the McCarran Act. Most recent argument against the government's effort to force the Committee to register as a "Communist front" was conducted Dec. 9 before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington by attorney Joseph Forer. During the argument, word came to the hearing of the Committee's victory in the Supreme Court in the Rowoldt case. This occasioned no recess in the government's effort to put the ACPFB out of business nationally.

The ACPFB, with headquarters at 49 E. 21st St., New York City 10, may not solicit funds under the New York injunction, but it may accept and use voluntary contributions which it desperately needs for its own defense and to further the hundreds of defenses entrusted to it in the fight against inhumane immigration laws.

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* * * * * * *
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NEWSPAPER GUILD, Heywood Broun Room, 133 W. 44th St., N.Y.C. Admission in advance $1. At door, $1.25.
Write for tickets to:
Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10th St., tel. ORegon 5-6939.

MURRY WEISS will speak on Socialism and Peace. Sat., Jan. 11, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Auspices Militant Labor Forum. Contribution 50 cents.

COMING-OUT PARTY FOR JEWISH CURRENTS: Jan 19, 1958, Sunday afternoon, 2 p.m. Program: **MORRIS CARNOVSKY**; Teddi Schwartz, folksinger. Refreshments. Con. $1.50. Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48 St.

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Forum on labor in N.Y. on Jan. 5

THE FIRST OF a new series of Sunday Evening Forums entitled, "1958: Decisive Challenge to Labor" will be held on Sun., Jan. 5 at 8:15 p.m., at Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. George Morris, labor editor of the **Daily Worker**, will be the main speaker. He will deal with such questions as: more unity for labor—or less?; the "right-to-work" drive; corruption, union democracy, and government intervention; the developing crisis and layoffs.

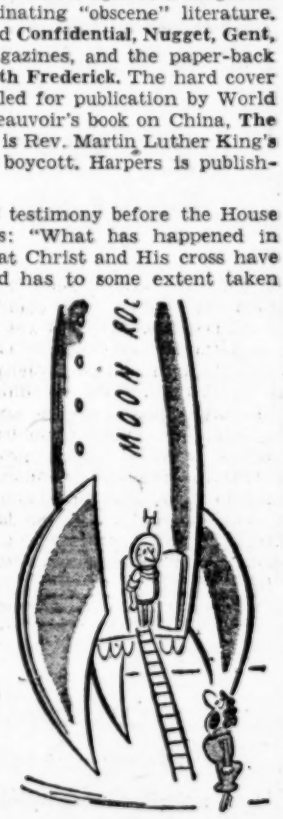
Admission is $1. Advance registrations will be taken at the Forum for the new series of winter classes on Marxist theory and its applications, which will also be held at Adelphi Hall, beginning January 20.

THE GALLERY

A 34-PAGE BOOKLET, **Inventions Wanted By The Armed Forces,** is being circulated by the Defense Dept. among scientific societies, research organizations and individual inventors. A priority need, according to the booklet, is a "death ray" capable of sizzling enemy soldiers at 500 yards. . . . Bids will be opened on Jan. 16 on 49 obsolete Army tanks at Camp McCoy, Wis. The Army insists, however, that successful bidders modify the tanks to make them unusable as war weapons. . . . Some hurricanes may get a hot-foot this year. U.S. Weather Bureau Chief F. W. Reichendorfer says he will recommend that fuel oil be sprayed on the ocean beside a hurricane and set afire. He thinks this may check the storm or send it out to sea. But he adds that the results are not entirely predictable.

CENSORS WON AND LOST BATTLES in New York last month. A State Supreme Court judge in New York City ruled against the city's ban on two nudist publications, ending a six-year fight. Upstate, an Albany grand jury handed down indictments against a magazine distributor and a publisher for disseminating "obscene" literature. Publications put in this category included **Confidential, Nugget, Gent, Playboy, Manhunt** and **Uncensored** magazines, and the paper-back edition of John O'Hara's novel **Ten North Frederick.** The hard cover edition was not mentioned. . . . Scheduled for publication by World in May is a translation of Simone de Beauvoir's book on China, **The Long March.** Also to be released in May is Rev. Martin Luther King's account of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Harpers is publishing it.

FROM BISHOP FULTON J. SHEEN'S testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities: "What has happened in Christianity in the modern world is that Christ and His cross have been separated and the Western world has to some extent taken Christ without His cross and made Him a feminine Kiwanis booster." . . . Marylin Bender of the Denver **Post,** on vacation in the U.S.S.R., reported that "Russia is as sexy as a Salvation Army rally." Not aware of any glandular defect in Soviet men, she was amazed and disturbed that "during the past 12 days I haven't heard a whistle." The trouble, she concluded is that the Soviet system has "robbed woman of her greatest asset—her inequality." . . . Sidney Harth of Louisville, Ky., became the first American to win a prize in a world music competition in Poland in 10 years. He placed a close second to Soviet musician Roza Fayn in the Henryk Wieniawski Intl. Violin Competition in Poznan last month.



© Daily Mirror, London
"You never take me ANYWHERE, Basil."

A READER SENT US the following note on stationery of the People's Progressive Party, 73 Wellington St., Georgetown, British Guiana: "We have received the parcel of books which you have so kindly donated. Our library has been growing by leaps and bounds thanks to the many who have contributed so generously. Thanks again, and our greetings to all those who are fighting for peace and an end to colonialism and oppression." . . . The PPP library was established from books sent by GUARDIAN readers. Why not tuck the above address somewhere handy to your bookcase—and next time you're arranging the shelves, remember that books gather no dust in Georgetown.

THE AUTO WORKERS' NEW PAPER "SOLIDARITY" devoted two pages of its first issue to hints for the man buying a suit. It recommended: (1) shop in late January or February when stores hold inventory-clearance sales; (2) forget your size, make the clerk measure you because sizes vary with the manufacturer; (3) unfinished worsted is the best fabric for appearance and wear; (4) insist that the store provide extra buttons and make them sew left-over strips on the inside of the cuffs to prevent fraying when your pants rub against your shoes; (5) brush your suits frequently with a soft brush and always hang the jacket on a wooden hanger and the pants on a clip by the cuffs. . . . **The Last word,** a program devoted to discussion of the English language with Bergen Evans and John Mason Brown, returns to CBS radio on Jan 7.

MOSCOW RADIO REPORTED the start of produtcion of "solar heat" cookers for the kitchen. The broadcast said the next step would be a special apparatus for drying fruit, vegetables and tobacco. . . . Setfair Productions, British movie producers and Iluzjon Films, a Polish company, will co-produce a film on the life of Joseph Conrad. . . . Dr. Samuel Rosen, N.Y. surgeon, was awarded a 1,000,000 lire ($1,600) prize by the University of Bologna for developing an operation to cure otoscierosis, one of the most common causes of deafness. At the award ceremony his daughter introduced Dr. Rosen as "American Ambassador to the Middle Ear." Dr. Rosen donated the prize money to educate a poor Italian medical student.

SAVE MONEY! GET A SUPPLY OF GUARDIAN VITAMINS! See p. 12

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"The players melt their individual talents into a superlative ensemble performance which makes this latest version of an exquisite trio close to irresistible." —Time *magazine*

LEONID KOGAN plays Beethoven Sonata in C minor with Andrei Mitnik and Mozart Sonata in F major with Gregory Ginsburg. No. 2011.

ITINERARIES

GILELS

Jan. 7	Pittsburgh
Jan. 12, 19, 26	New York City
Jan. 14	Lafayette, Ind.
Jan. 16	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Jan. 23	Washington, D.C.
Jan. 25, 29, Feb. 21, 22	Phila.
Jan. 31	San Francisco
Feb. 2, 6, 7	Chicago
Feb. 4	Minneapolis
Feb. 11	Detroit
Feb. 15	Cleveland
Feb. 18	St. Louis
Feb. 26	Boston

KOGAN

Jan. 10, 11, 18	Boston
Jan. 21	Detroit
Jan. 25	Philadelphia
Jan. 30, 31, Feb. 2	New York City
Feb. 8	Cleveland
Feb. 14	Chicago
Feb. 16	San Francisco
Feb. 19-23	Los Angeles
Feb. 26	Brooklyn
March 2	St. Louis

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THE MAIL BAG

Thrice over lightly

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

Went to our barber college here today to get a haircut. Barber gave a lead for me to open up and after telling him I had been a socialist for 50 years I covered several points on which our conformist citizens know little or worse, only lies.

I talked rather loud purposely so chairs next to us would hear and also learn things they did not know. When through, I turned to my barber and told him if he really wanted to become informed I would send him a paper for six months from which he would learn plenty he did not now know. I handed him my note book and pencil and said for him to write his name and address. He signed. The barber at the next chair was idle and watching the procedure, so I handed him the book and told him I'd send it to him also if he wanted it. He said he did after hearing some of the things I had told my barber.

My barber called my attention to the barber on the other side who was busy but stepped over and said he would like to get the paper also as he could see there was much information he had not obtained correctly and he realized opinions were not worth much unless one got the other side.

So here are three subs that came from spilling some truth.

Ed J. Green

Leaky hat

MADISON, N. J.

Some of your articles I like a lot, and some at times give me a pain in the neck, but I don't ask you to change any on my account. We all have a lot to learn, and old Karl likewise, whose aims for a socialist commonwealth are fine but his materialism awful old hat. It just don't hold water under tests of modern research.

Arthur Eliot Marsh

One vet to another

ERWIN, TENN.

President-General Eisenhower, sputniking around to see where he can raise more money for more militarism without inconveniencing Big Business, is thinking about cutting down on veterans' pensions. As my pension is $942 a year, and my sole support; and as his is $18,000 a year—plus an enormous salary, free rent, dines, wines and Clementines—I respectfully suggest that the ax be applied at his end of the chow line.

Ernest Seeman

Our First Lady

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I have enjoyed reading the GUARDIAN for some time; as an expression of my appreciation for the great job you are doing of enlightening and informing your readers in local and world events, I am sending you the enclosed $5.

Charlotta A. Bass

Technocratic alternative

OAKLAND, CALIF.

As one small voice among millions who are espousing various and sundry opinions concerning debt, taxes, unemployment, business decline, surpluses, war scares, (peace scares by armament makers), crime, TV, commercials, automation, graft — both in labor and business—bible quoting, education (or lack of it), Voice of America programs, CARE packages, give-away programs—including those for bribing foreign countries, loss of face, charity drives, highway accidents, sex problems, parity prices, subsidies, infidelity, divorces, stray cats, homeless dogs, churchgoers, atheists, new styles, glamor girls, abundance, foreign relations, domestic ones also, Russian Sputniks and American Goofniks, let it be known by all, we Technocrats are not in the least surprised at this volume and velocity of anxiety. For more than two decades we have been watching it increase in volume and acceleration until it would eventually dictate social change to a sane and scientific social order. Present trends indicate we will not have to wait much longer, for the only alternatives now left are scientific social order and control or chaos —possibly annihilation.

Thomas H. Gibbins

Earnism

TONASKET, WASH.

Let present day harmful, competitive, Devil-designed, cannibalistic, capitalistic, profit-stealing, modern "mental method" big business thiefism give way and be replaced peaceably by God-ordained, God-endowed, helpful, wealth-creating, no profit-stealing, Christian cooperative Earnism!

Uncle Josh Hayseed

London Daily Herald

"I'm going to let you in on one of our biggest secrets about this missile—it doesn't work."

The Gojack case

FORT WAYNE, IND.

This is to thank all of you for helping make it possible to pursue in the courts another test case that will help re-establish our First Amendment rights.

At the present time the case of John T. Gojack is awaiting argument in the Wash., D.C., Court of Appeals. According to Frank J. Donner, noted civil liberties attorney who is handling the Gojack defense, this case is an exceptionally effective test for application of the Watkins decision—for the reason that the government itself conceded in the lower court that the Walter Committee's purpose in calling Gojack was to "expose" him in his community (under no stretch of the imagination a valid legislative purpose).

To date, almost two-thirds of the legal costs have been raised — and except for modest contributions from the Bill of Rights Fund and the Detroit ACLU, all came from individual friends of Gojack or civil liberty supporters in $1, $2, etc. Approximately $1,300 must still be raised to pay outstanding legal costs. We are confident of a final victory.

Gojack Defense Committee
P.O. Box 751